DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 351 427 UD 028 961

TITLE	Impact of School Desegregation in Milwaukee Public Schools on Quality Education for Minorities... 15 Years Later.
INSTITUTION	Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights.
PUB DATE	Aug 92
NOTE	44p.
PUB TYPE	Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Advisory Committees; Affirmative Action; *Black Youth; *Desegregation Effects; Desegregation Methods; Economic Factors; *Educational Quality; Elementary Secondary Education; Guidelines; Housing; Housing Discrimination; Neighborhood Integration; Outcomes of Education; Racial Integration; *School Desegregation; *Urban Schools
IDENTIFIERS	*Milwaukee Public Schools WI

ABSTRACT

This publication reports on the effects of school desegregation in Milwaukee (Wisconsin) Public Schools 15 years after desegregation was introduced and focuses on the quality of education available for minorities. In particular, the report looks at desegregation and educational outcomes, interracial and human relations, the effect of housing patterns on school desegregation, and strategies such as school choice and the development of black male academies. Information for the report was gathered during field investigations and a day and a half community forum. Report sections cover the context in which the desegregation plan was implemented, educational outcomes, human relations, other strategies to improve education, and the effect of housing patterns on school integration. A final section offering conclusions and recommendations observes that desegregation has not been fully accomplished, grades and scores for black children have declined, disciplinary actions and dropout rates have increased, and racial attitudes have polarized. Desegregation efforts have been complicated by declining economic and housing opportunities. Appendixes contain a list of public schools in the Milwaukee district, and an agenda from the information-gathering forum. (JB)

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Impact of School Desegregation in Milwaukee Public Schools on Quality Education for Minorities..... 15 Years Later

Wisconsin Advisory Committee
to the United States Commission
on Civil Rights

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August 1992

A report of the Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the United States Commission on Civil Rights prepared for the information and consideration of the Commission. This report will be considered by the Commission and the Commission will make public its reaction. In the meanwhile, the findings and recommendations of this report should not be attributed to the Commission but only to the Wisconsin Advisory Committee.

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Impact of School Desegregation in Milwaukee Public Schools on Quality Education for Minorities..... 15 Years Later

Wisconsin Advisory Committee
to the United States Commission
on Civil Rights

August 1992

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Letter of Transmittal

Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Members of the Commission
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Wilfredo J. Gonzalez, *Staff Director*

The Wisconsin Advisory Committee submits this report of its review of Milwaukee school desegregation and its impact upon quality education for minorities. The Advisory Committee voted to to approve submission of this report to you.

The Advisory Committee held a community forum on May 22-23, 1990, to gather information on efforts to desegregate the Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) and the impact of these efforts upon quality education. Twenty-three persons appeared before the Committee to provide information and points of view related to this issue. Those invited to participate included educators from MPS, suburban school districts, State officials, elected officials, community and business groups, students and parents. Those persons who participated in the forum were given an opportunity to comment on relevant sections of the report. Where appropriate, comments and corrections indicated by them have been incorporated into the final report.

The education of minority students has emerged as the overriding concern in public education, and it may top the national education agenda well into the next century. Similarly, it is a top priority in the city of Milwaukee where racial minority students have become the majority population, and school desegregation the force driving the operations of the schools. Since 1976 MPS has been struggling and to some degree progressing in its many efforts to desegregate the schools. Although there has been some progress, the educational outcomes for minority students that were hoped for have been unsatisfactory and, according to some, a complete failure. Fifteen years later, MPS is still grappling with how to deal with the competing demands of desegregation and quality education. Thus, the argument intensifies that resources should be diverted from desegregation and committed to improving the quality of education, and others argue that the enhancement of quality does not justify reduction of integration. From this debate, other strategies to improve educational quality have sparked the establishment of black male academies and the parental choice program allowing for the first time low-income inner-city children to attend private, nonsectarian schools at public expense. This report documents the divergent

views and opinions on these issues and the efforts underway to enhance educational opportunities for minorities.

Respectfully,

Dr. James L. Baughman, *Chairperson*
Wisconsin Advisory Committee

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Acknowledgments

The Wisconsin Advisory Committee wishes to thank the staff of the Commission's Central Regional Office for its help in the preparation of this summary report. The summary report was the principal assignment of Farella E. Robinson, with support from Jo Ann Daniels. The project was carried out under the overall supervision of Melvin L. Jenkins, Director, Central Regional Office.

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1. Introduction

In 1954 the Supreme Court of the United States held in *Brown v. Board of Education* that legally compelled segregation of students by race denied equal protection of the laws as guaranteed by the 14th amendment and the "separate but equal" doctrine was constitutionally impermissible.[1] Although desegregation and quality education were not tied together in *Brown,* tangible results hoped for were not only the equalization of resources and integration of black and white students, but ensuring quality education for black children.[2] Opponents of school desegregation have now suggested that the process has affected the quality of education for black students negatively rather than positively.[3] Milwaukee has been grappling with this issue since 1976, and given the continuing controversy in the community surrounding desegregation and quality education, it is appropriate to examine the progress made in meeting these competing demands.

Information was gathered during field investigations and a day and a half community forum. Educators from the city and suburban school districts, State officials, community groups, business groups, parents, and students were invited to participate. The Advisory Committee's analysis of the information gathered during the forum focuses on whether or not the education of minority students, but more expressly black students, has improved under desegregation. This analysis addresses desegregation and educational outcomes, interracial and human relations, the effect of housing patterns upon school desegregation, and other strategies used such as school choice and the development of black male academies to improve the education of minority children.

City and County Demographics

The U.S. Bureau of the Census statistics for 1990 show that Milwaukee County, which includes most of the surrounding suburbs, has a population of 959,275 persons.[4] In the county, racial and ethnic minorities are 260,411 or 27.1 percent of the population.[5] In the city, racial and ethnic minorities are 269,464 or 42.9 percent of the population.[6] Table 1 shows the racial and ethnic breakdown of persons residing in the county and city of Milwaukee.

Education Demographics

As of September 1991, Milwaukee Public Schools (MPS) had 138 schools with a total student population of 99,233.[7] Of these students, 56,671 (57. percent) are black; 27,216 (27.4 percent) are white; 9,702 (9.8 percent) are Hispanic; 1,155 (1.2 percent) are American Indian; 3,352 (3.4 percent) are Asian; and 1,137 (1.1 percent) are other minorities.[8] This population also includes 5,714 resident students from MPS who attend suburban schools by means of the Chapter 220 program, a voluntary city-suburban student transfer program to enhance racial balance in the suburbs. Blacks represent 71.5 percent of these students. Conversely, via Chapter 220, 873 white suburban students attend school in MPS.[9]

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1 347 U.S. 483 (1954); U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Statement of the United States Commission on Civil Rights on School Desegregation* (December 1982), p. 1.

2 Ibid., pp. 17-18.

3 Information provided to the Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at its community forum on May 22-23, 1990, *Transcript,* vol. I, pp. 250, 254-55 (hereafter cited as *Transcript).*

4 U.S. Census of Population and Housing by Race and Hispanic Origin and Housing Unit County, 1990, Milwaukee City and County (February 1991).

5 Ibid.

6 Ibid.

7 Data provided by Gary Peterson, coordinator of research, Milwaukee Public Schools, Apr. 13, 1992.

8 Ibid.

9 Betty Nicholas, Chapter 220 program, Milwaukee Public Schools, telephone interview, Mar. 4, 1992.

TABLE 1
Racial and Ethnic Composition of Milwaukee County and the City of Milwaukee, 1990

	Milwaukee County		*City of Milwaukee*	
	Total	Under 18 years	Total 2	Under 18 years
Population	959,275	NA	628,088	NA
White	698,864	138,591	381,714	71,015
Black	193,583	77,985	189,408	76,866
Amer. Indian, Eskimo, or Aleut	6,291	2,199	5,213	1,867
Asian or Pacific Islander	14,872	5,749	11,429	4,636
Other race	22,994	10,751	21,915	10,695
Hispanic origin (of any race)	44,671	19,027	39,409	17,061

Source: Census of Population and Housing, 1990: Public Law 94-171 Data.

According to a 1986 study commissioned by the National School Board Desegregation Research Project at the University of Chicago, Wisconsin was the eighth most segregated State for black students in the country.[10] The study showed that 70.4 percent of black students in Wisconsin were enrolled in segregated schools.[11] The researchers theorized that because most of the State's black population is in Milwaukee, it was reasonable to assume that the typical black student in MPS was also similarly segregated.[12] Since that time, a report issued by the National School Board Association in January 1991 indicated that Wisconsin ranked seventh in the Nation for States with the largest percentage of blacks enrolled in schools with 50 to 100 percent minority populations. In Wisconsin, 75.3 percent of black students attended segregated schools. The study further showed that in 1988, under MPS's magnet school plan, 22.9 percent of black students were enrolled in schools with more than 90 percent minorities and 29.9 percent of whites were enrolled in schools that are mostly attended by blacks.[13]

The amount of integration in the schools has been accomplished through a combination of creation of specialty schools (and concomitant voluntary busing), school closings, forced transfers, mandatory busing, and voluntary student transfers.[14] MPS's desegregation efforts are the subject of controversy due to continuing concern that desegregation is not achieving the desired results of integration and improved education for black students.[15]

The Setting

Efforts to desegregate the schools began in 1976 and include the implementation of the 1979 intradistrict settlement agreement, development of citywide specialty schools and programs, and interdistrict efforts to promote integrated education

10 "State Schools Ranked as 8th Most-Segregated," *Milwaukee Journal*, Mar. 24, 1989, p. A-1.

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 National School Board Association, "Status of School Desegregation: The Next Generation" (January 1991); "The Nation's Schools Learns A 4th R: Resegregation," *New York Times*, Jan. 19, 1992, p. B-1.

14 John F. Witte, "Educational Inequality and Metropolitan Integration in Milwaukee" (paper prepared for the National Conference on School Desegregation Research, University of Chicago, Sept. 5, 1986), p. 3.

15 Ibid.; George A. Mitchell, "An Evaluation of State Financed School Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee" Wisconsin Policy Research Institute: June 1989), p. 4 (hereafter cited as *Mitchell Report*).

through a voluntary student transfer program with suburban school districts known as Chapter 220.[16] Despite setbacks and unmet expectations in making desegregation a reality, it is important to note some of the early gains made.

Unlike many other urban school systems, following its Federal court order, MPS moved with considerable dispatch in achieving the student and staff racial balance requirements.[17] Relying on the remedies called for in the 1979 intradistrict settlement agreement and a strong system of specialty schools, MPS met or exceeded its court-imposed desegregation goals each year. This was accomplished mostly by intradistrict transfers funded by the Chapter 220 program, and it was accomplished peacefully, without the public turmoil and acrimony that accompanied school desegregation in other cities such as Boston. Chapter 220 was lauded as a model for other school systems, and as the sort of effort that should be considered by other local and State bodies.[18] Since then, these successes have dissipated into dissatisfaction with the educational results of desegregation, which continues today.[19]

This dissatisfaction intensified with the proposal and public dialogue on the "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan" submitted by Dr. Charles V. Willie to address inequities in the intradistrict desegregation plan.[20] Dr. Willie's study of the intradistrict plan found inequities in MPS's student assignment practices that did not allow adequate choice for all parents, a cumbersome and costly transportation system that placed an undue burden on minority students, and a complicated student assignment plan that maximized educational opportunities for nonminorities but limited them for minorities.[21] The interdistrict plan or Chapter 220 program was criticized for its costly transportation and the use of unfair screening practices or "creaming" by suburban districts to ensure the admission of only the best city students into suburban schools.[22]

For the first time, in March 1990, Milwaukee's Mayor and the Common Council became involved in the interworking of the politically independent school system.[23] In April 1990 Mayor John Norquist called for the abolishment of Chapter 220. He charged that "the program had fragmented black neighborhoods and rather than helping the cause of integration, had promoted segregation along class lines leaving low-income children in traditional, non-specialty schools, while middle class children of both races most likely attend specialty and suburban schools."[24]

In response to this criticism, MPS and the suburban schools joined together in support of Chapter 220 and said that instead of scrapping the program, efforts should be made to concentrate on providing greater quality of education.[25] Most recently, Mayor Norquist has called for the replacement of the public school system with a voucher program that allows parents to enroll their children in any public or private nonsectarian school of their choice.[26]

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16 *Mitchell Report*, p. 1.

17 Milwaukee Public Schools, "Reflections on the Milwaukee Desegregation Experience," August 1980, p. 1.

18 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 15.

19 Charles V. Willie, Michael J. Alves, and David J. Hartman, "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan for Milwaukee Public Schools" (February 1990), app. I-12-16 (hereafter cited as "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan"); Felmers Chaney, president, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People-Milwaukee, letter to Tommy Thompson, Governor of Wisconsin, Feb. 6, 1990 (hereafter cited as Chaney Letter); "Abolish Chapter 220, Norquist Says, 220 Program Misses Mark, Helps Segregation Mayor Says," *Milwaukee Journal*, Apr. 4, 1990, p. 1-A.

20 "School Attendance Plan Evokes Distrust," *Milwaukee Journal*, Mar. 1, 1990, p. B-1; "Action on School Plan Too Rushed, Parents Say," *Milwaukee Journal*, Feb. 28, 1990, p. A-1; "Aldermen Want A Say in School Proposal," *Milwaukee Journal*, Mar. 1, 1990, p. B-1.

21 "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan," p. iii.

22 Chaney Letter; "Norquist Says Revamp 220; Empower Parents," *Milwaukee Community Journal*, May 23, 1990, p. 1; *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 145.

23 "Aldermen Want A Say in School Proposal," *Milwaukee Journal*, Mar. 1, 1990, p. B-1.

24 "Mayor Tells Agency Chapter 220 Isn't Working," *Milwaukee Journal*, Apr. 27, 1990, p. B-1; *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 299-301.

25 "Peterkin to Mayor: 220 Too Important to Scrap," *The Milwaukee Community Journal*, Apr. 25, 1990, pp. 1, 6.

26 "Mayor Sees End of Urban Schools," *Milwaukee Journal*, Jan. 2, 1992, p. A-1.

2. A Context for Examining the Impact of School Desegregation Upon Quality Education for Minority Students

Chronology of Desegregation in Metropolitan Milwaukee

January 1976 Federal Judge John Reynolds ruled the Milwaukee Public Schools were segregated unlawfully.

April 1976 The Wisconsin Legislature enacted Chapter 220, a program to aid in implementing integration within MPS and to promote voluntary metropolitan integration.

September 1976 Implementation of Chapter 220 began, within the city and on a city-suburban basis.

May 1979 Judge Reynolds approved the plan MPS had been using since 1976 to respond to the order to end segregation.

October 1984 MPS sued the State and 24 suburban school districts for continued segregation.

August 1987 Settlement agreement reached to improve the quality of education and to promote racial and cultural integration in the metropolitan area.[1]

School desegregation as a legal issue was initiated in Milwaukee in 1965 by the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). After more than a decade of legal effort, on January 19, 1976, the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Wisconsin ruled that MPS was unconstitutionally segregated and must develop a plan to desegregate schools.[2] A settlement agreement was reached in 1979 that provided for 75 percent of the system's students to be educated in racially balanced schools. This agreement prohibited all-white schools but permitted some all-black or nearly all-black schools. Racially balanced elementary and middle schools were defined as between 25 and 60 percent black, and racially balanced high schools were defined as between 20 and 60 percent black.[3] Before 1976 only 14 of 158 schools were integrated. By 1988, 112 of the system's 138 schools were integrated through busing.[4] At this point, MPS's court-ordered desegregation plan helped quite a bit in reducing segregation.

In the 1979-80 school year, MPS had 79 percent of its students attending racially balanced schools and all other requirements of the settlement agreement were either met or exceeded.[5] However, in 1984 when the settlement agreement expired, the number of black students in MPS exceeded 50 percent and was steadily moving toward 55 percent. Sensing that the effectiveness of the plan was weakening, MPS believed that a metropolitan student assignment plan was necessary to maintain the level of desegregation that it had achieved.[6]

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1 George A. Mitchell, "An Evaluation of State Financed School Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee" (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute: June 1989) (hereafter cited as *Mitchell Report)*, pp. 1, 22.

2 Amos v. Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee, 408 F.Supp. 765, 818 (E.D. Wis. 1976); *aff'd sub nom.* Armstrong v. Brennan, 539 F.2d 265 (7th Cir. 1976), *vacated* 433 U.S. 672 (1977).

3 Information provided to the Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at its community forum on May 22-23, 1990, *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 14 (hereafter cited as *Transcript).*

4 *Mitchell Report*, p. 54.

5 Prepared by the Milwaukee Public Schools, "Reflections on the Milwaukee Desegregation Experience," August 1980, p. 8.

6 Charles V. Willie, Michael J. Alves, and David J. Hartman, "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan for Milwaukee Public Schools" (February 1990), app. I-4 (hereafter cited as "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan").

It is important to note why desegregation was weakening. Milwaukee in the 1980s, similar to other cities, experienced demographic and economic changes resulting in a larger minority population and a declining white population. Even before desegregation, Milwaukee was losing its white population at a rate of 1.3 to 2.4 percent per year. Because of the declining white population, it became clear that to achieve desegregation MPS would require "more" participation from suburban districts.[7] It was also during this period that the national political climate and Federal Government enforcement efforts changed to a degree that desegregation was not considered fashionable. Dr. Gary Orfield, a desegregation expert, wrote that:

> The conservative movement of the 1980s has a sweeping effect on State and local governments. . . .When the Federal government took the posture that educational standards had deteriorated and priority must be given to raising them, the States eagerly responded. They adopted stiffer public school graduation requirements and became more tolerant of resulting inequities. Few States had ever paid serious attention to civil rights policy, except when under direct Federal pressure, and now many adopted policies that had the consequence of limiting opportunities for blacks. It was during this period that some local school districts sought, with the Reagan Justice Department's encouragement, to throw off the "burdens" of the school desegregation orders they had been under for a decade or more. . . .[8]

In October 1984 MPS filed a lawsuit against the surrounding suburban districts and the State of Wisconsin. The lawsuit, *Board of School Directors of the City of Milwaukee v. Thompson* (84-C-877), alleged that the defendants had cooperated in a continuing series of actions and failures to act with respect to housing and education to intentionally isolate Milwaukee black students within the city and to maintain segregation and inequality of educational opportunity in the metropolitan area.[9] The NAACP, the Milwaukee Teachers' Education Association (MTEA), and the Wisconsin Education Association Council (WEAC) later joined the lawsuit on the side of MPS.[10] A settlement agreement was reached in August 1987.[11] The goals of the agreement were to improve the quality of education and to promote racial and cultural integration.[12] The parties agreed to expand efforts to achieve greater racial balance of the public schools in the metropolitan area through Chapter 220 and pro-integration housing initiatives.[13]

Implementation of the settlement agreement began during the 1987-88 school year and will expire July 1, 1993, after the 1992-93 school year.[14] The settlement provided the following: (1) voluntary increases in the number of minority students attending suburban schools (hopefully enrolling 8,500 minority students by 1992-93); (2) reservation by MPS of 10 percent of student assignments for suburban transfers; (3) creation of a housing counseling and recruitment center to give families advice on moving to areas that would increase racial integration; (4) establishment of a mortgage loan assistance program to help minorities move to the suburbs and whites to the city; (5) provision by the State of $30 million for remedial education in Milwaukee; (6) establishment of a coordinating council to oversee and promote the city-suburbs transfer program; (7) hiring of more minority employees by suburban schools; and (8) application by school boards of only the same standards, tests, or procedures to transfer students as to their own resident students.[15]

Thus far, the full desegregative potential of the interdistrict settlement agreement has not been achieved.[16] According to information in the "Long-

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7 Ibid., app. I-11.

8 Gary Orfield and Carole Ashkinaze, *The Closing Door, Conservative Policy and Black Opportunity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. xvii.

9 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 17-18.

10 Ibid., vol. I, p. 18.

11 Ibid., p. 19.

12 Settlement Agreement, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Sept. 16, 1987, p. 1.

13 "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan," app. I-5.

14 Settlement Agreement, pp. 2, 6.

15 Ibid., pp. 1-21; *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 19-21.

Range Educational Equity Plan," although 506 new MPS students transferred to suburban schools in the 1988-89 school year, the number of new applications was four times the number of students accepted as transfers.[17] The new students resulted in a total enrollment of MPS pupils in suburban schools of 4,304.[18] They represented 6 to 7 percent of the 65,220 resident student population of the suburban districts.[19] During the 1988-89 school year, 972 suburban students transferred to MPS. They represented 1 percent of the 96,290 resident student population of Milwaukee. This analysis reveals that both city and suburban school systems can accommodate more students than either had received to that date.[20]

Because of Chapter 220, the proportion of racial and ethnic minorities in MPS was reduced by 6 or 7 percent in 1988-89 and the proportion of racial minorities in suburban school districts increased by 150 percent. Even with this increase, however, the suburban minority student population is only 11 percent of the combined resident suburban student body. Also due to transfers, during the 1988-89 school year, the proportion of white students in suburban districts was reduced by 1 percent and the proportion of white students in MPS was increased by 3 percent.[21] The most recent data show that 5,714 or 5.8 percent of MPS minority students attend suburban schools; 71.5 percent of these students are black. MPS schools are attended by 873 or 1.8 percent of the suburban resident students.[22]

In 1985 a study commission was appointed by the Governor and the superintendent of public instruction to assess the quality of education in the 22 metropolitan public schools.[23] In its report, "Better Public Schools," the study commission found that there was an unacceptable disparity in educational opportunity and achievement between poor and minority children on one hand and nonpoor and white children on the other. It also found that even though commendable examples of effective programs and high scholastic achievement occurred in some of the schools, thousands of young people, most black, were leaving the system with limited academic skills.

Dr. John Witte, who directed the study noted above, soon developed a followup paper called "Educational Inequality and Metropolitan Integration in Milwaukee." His findings concluded that an extraordinary degree of educational inequality existed between races, income classes, individual schools, and school districts.[24] The study described three different educational worlds. The first is a white, middle-class world in the suburbs, where educational attainment is significantly above national norms and children are moving through the educational systems with considerable success. The second is of students enrolled in the city of Milwaukee's specialty or magnet schools. These schools are more or less racially integrated, although less successfully integrated in terms of economic class.[25] Educational achievement in these schools is usually somewhat lower than in the suburban schools, but generally above national medians. The students show consistent educational progress and promise of future educational success.[26] The third world, consisting of the vast majority of MPS students, is a stark contrast to the other two.[27] Regular or traditional MPS schools are predominantly low-income, minority schools where educational at-

16 "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan," app. I-6.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 Ibid.

20 Ibid.

21 Ibid.

22 Ibid., Gerald Vance, director, Compact for Educational Opportunity, telephone interview, Mar. 17, 1992.

23 Study Commission on the Quality of Education in the Metropolitan Milwaukee Public Schools, "Better Public Schools" (October 1985) (hereafter cited as Study Commission Report).

24 John F. Witte, "Educational Inequality and Metropolitan Integration in Milwaukee" (Paper prepared for the National Conference on School Desegregation Research, University of Chicago, Sept. 5, 1986), p. 1.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid.

27 Ibid.

tainment is consistently below the national medians (in higher grades often in the lowest national quartile), school dropout rates are dismal and often 10 times higher than in suburban districts, and the future prospects for those who exit the educational system are bleak.[28]

Calls for change have come from the broader community because of poor educational attainment by black students and concerns that desegregation had not substantially progressed toward the intended results. For example, in February 1990 the speaker for the Wisconsin Assembly questioned whether desegregation was achieving the desired results of improving the education of students.[29] In 1990 the Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP contacted the Governor to complain about the widening achievement gap between black and white students.[30] Finally, Mayor Norquist has criticized the Chapter 220 program for its inequities and called for its replacement with parental choice programs.[31]

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28 Ibid., pp. 1-2.

29 "Loftus Questions Integration Plan," *Milwaukee Journal*, Feb. 7, 1990, p. 1-B.

30 Felmers Chaney, president, Milwaukee chapter, NAACP, letter to Tommy Thompson, Governor of Wisconsin, Feb. 6, 1990.

31 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 299-301.

3. School Desegregation and Educational Outcomes for Minorities

The desegregation program rested on the basic assumption that with enough time, State financial assistance, and new spending, minority academic achievement would improve significantly and close the gap with white academic achievement.[1] Therefore, the question raised here is whether academic achievement for black students has been raised or lowered during desegregation. Unfortunately, 15 years after the court decision, enactment of Chapter 220, and over $334 million dollars spent, neither the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, the Milwaukee Public Schools, or the suburban districts have done a comprehensive evaluation of the educational outcomes of desegregation.[2] The study commission report by Dr. John Witte assessed the quality and equity of education in the 22 metropolitan public school districts in Milwaukee, but did not focus on school desegregation. However, it is important to note some of the achievement levels described in this report.

Although this study did find some examples of high achievement in Milwaukee, it overwhelmingly found that most minority children and children from poor families were performing below satisfactory levels.[3] The research showed that:

> By the fifth grade (perhaps earlier), a significant majority of poor and/or minority children are performing below the national average on achievement tests.
>
> There is a significant gap in math scores between boys and girls, with MPS longitudinal data showing large drops in math scores from grade 7 to grade 10 for girls of all races, but particularly for Hispanic and black girls.
>
> The average grade point in 13 of Milwaukee's 15 public high schools is less than 2.0, or C.
>
> Over one-quarter of the courses taken in MPS high schools end in a recorded grade of F or U for unsatisfactory. In seven of the MPS high schools, the percentage of F's was above 30.
>
> MPS has a dropout rate more than double both the State average or the highest rate of any suburban school, with most dropouts occurring before the 11th grade.
>
> For the grades tested, 2, 5, 7, and 10, the percentages of students in MPS below the national median ranged from 45.2 percent in grade 2 to 58.3 percent in grade 10. Of all suburban students tested, the percentages below the national median ranged from 17.6 percent in grade 2 to 29 percent in grade 10.
>
> In schools with significantly lower achievement scores, there was less parent involvement.
>
> While one-half of the suburban districts have between 5 percent and 17 percent minority students, minority teachers in the suburbs represent only .5 percent of the total teaching staff. In 1983-84, 18.5 percent of the MPS teaching staff members were minority as compared to a 59 percent minority student enrollment.[4]

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1 George A. Mitchell, "An Evaluation of State Financed School Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee" (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute: June 1989) (hereafter cited as *Mitchell Report*), p. 1.

2 Ibid., p. 3.

3 Study Commission on the Quality of Education in the Metropolitan Milwaukee Public Schools, "Better Public Schools" (October 1985), pp. 1, 11-12.

4 Ibid., p. 12.

Based upon this information, the study commission concluded that there were considerable differences in academic achievement among individual schools in MPS and between city and suburban schools.[5] Overall, student achievement in the suburbs was above national norms, while in the city most grades were not reaching national norms, even though they had improved. Non-low-income students did better than low-income students, and white students did better than blacks and Hispanics; and in general, students in the suburbs did better than those in the city.[6] Differences in achievement between economic and racial groups existed in both the city and the suburbs, but the differences were larger in Milwaukee.[7] Racial and socioeconomic differences in test results, grades, and credits earned were very large by the tenth grade, particularly in MPS.[8] The dropout rate for minority and low-income students was particularly severe.[9] In general, MPS students in specialty schools performed better than students in traditional schools, and there was a direct relationship between strong school leadership, team work, high expectations, and academic achievement at the elementary and middle school levels.[10]

Student achievement was addressed in one other study, *An Evaluation of State-Financed School Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee* by George A. Mitchell of the Wisconsin Policy Research Institute.[11] This study, issued in June 1989, reviewed racial integration in MPS. One aspect of the study was an analysis of student achievement in traditional versus specialty schools and of transfer students in the Chapter 220 program.[12] The report concluded that the desegregation program had failed to increase the academic achievement of black students.[13]

According to the Mitchell study, black achievement in MPS's 10 integrated traditional high schools was strikingly low. In 1988:

> Grades averaged D to D+.
>
> Black students received F's in 26 to 43 percent of their courses.
>
> Only 8 to 21 percent of black students exceeded national test averages.
>
> The gap between black and white performance remains large at most specialty and traditional schools. Some narrowing has occurred since 1983-84 often due to lower white achievement.[14]

The Mitchell study concluded that while racial segregation was reduced, a new type of dual system based upon socioeconomic factors had emerged. The study concurred with conclusions reached in the study commission report that suburban whites did better than city whites; city whites outperformed suburban blacks; and suburban blacks exceeded the achievement of city blacks.[15]

A report by MPS on educational results in the 1989-90 school year showed mixed results.[16] The report stated the following:

> **Suspensions**
> While the rate of suspensions fell in six schools, it rose in six others with large black and Hispanic populations. While the overall rate of suspensions fell from 17 to 15 percent, the percentage of blacks suspended in 1989-90 was at least

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5 Ibid., p. 13.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
11 *Mitchell Report.*
12 Ibid., pp. 53, 84.
13 Ibid., p. 4.
14 Ibid., p. 53.
15 Ibid., pp. 53-54, 85.
16 "Societal Conditions Contributed to Poor Report Card," *The Milwaukee Community Journal,* Oct. 24, 1990, p. 1.

twice the percentage of white students at 12 high schools. Twelve schools had suspension rates above 10 percent.

Dropout rates
Improvements in dropout rates have not changed significantly. [In p]receding school years the dropout rates were 10.5 and 10.1. Nine schools had dropout rates above 10 percent for 1989-90 and North Division (predominantly black high school) had a rate of 26.4 percent.

Attendance
Attendance rate fell in eight of the 15 high schools, while rising in only three.

Grade Point Average
Grade points fell at nine schools and rose at just five. White students managed a collective GPA of 2.0 or higher at six high schools, while Hispanics at two schools had a collective GPA of 2.0 and blacks had none. Only Rufus King and the Milwaukee High School for the Arts had collective grade points above 2.0. No school had a GPA in the 2.50 range. At 11 high schools blacks had a grade point of 1.5 or lower. The average grade point average for a black student was 1.3.[17]

The most disturbing data concerns the black males who comprise 27.6 percent of the student population but comprise 50 percent of student suspensions and about 80 percent have a grade point average of D or less. This problem has caused MPS to be one of the first public schools in the country to open special schools for black males. [This issue is discussed later in this report.][18]

Parental Attitudes About MPS
Parents of children attending MPS gave the education their children receive high marks in comparison to non-MPS parents. Lack of discipline was cited as the top problem in the schools. Forty-two percent of parents say the school have either improved or stayed the same in the last five years. Lack of discipline was cited as the main reason that the schools have not improved. Sixty-one percent say they believe class size has a great deal to do with achievement and 51 percent would pay more taxes to reduce class size. Sixty-seven percent say they would be willing to pay more in taxes to improve the quality of education in Milwaukee. Fifty-one percent of respondents say desegregation guidelines in MPS should be abolished. However, there was a dramatic difference in opinion by race. Fifty-nine percent of black parents believe desegregation guidelines should not be abolished, while 52 percent of Hispanic and 55 percent of white respondents feel the guidelines should be abolished. When parents were asked what MPS should be doing, they listed improve discipline and upgrade the quality of teachers. Other significant parental responses were ending busing and more parental involvement.[19]

During the community forum, the Committee received information from participants that suggests that academic outcomes for most black students had not improved under desegregation.[20] Some contend quality education should be the sole goal. Others contend that both quality education and integration are important and are irrevocably connected to our quest for equal educational opportunity.[21] Some of the opinions expressed were:

Dr. Robert Peterkin, Former Superintendent

> The issues of quality education and desegregation now have equal weight. There was a time when that was not true. We may have thought it was true. We may have said it was true. But,

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 "Parents Give Public Schools Passing Grade," *The Milwaukee Community Journal*, Sept. 26, 1990, p. 2.

20 Information provided to the Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at its community forum on May 22-23, 1990, *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 9-120 (hereafter cited as *Transcript*).

21 Ibid.

in fact, we spent time with the assignment of young people and thought of their educational programs as a secondary feature, as if some magic reassignment of students would automatically improve schools. . . .That is one of the reasons why I tend to focus more on school improvement than I do on the mechanics of desegregation and have recently reaffirmed that for this community. One of the things that we have not been able to come up with is a plan, to deal with desegregating systems and still provide the best possible education. . . .Student outcomes have to get better.[22]

Carl Mueller, Chief of Staff, Mayor's Office

Desegregation is important but quality education is more important. . . .In seeking to remedy segregation we have fallen into a strategy that is debilitating for the majority of students. . . .Efforts toward integration has produced segregation along class lines, low-income students of both races that are heavily concentrated in traditional schools, while the middle class of both races are heavily concentrated in MPS specialty schools and suburban schools. . . .Finally, Chapter 220 has simply failed to improve educational outcomes for minority students. Black achievement in the city's 10 integrated traditional high schools is appallingly low. In 1988, for example, grades averaged from D to D+. Black students received F's in a range of 26 to 43 percent of their courses. Only 8 to 21 percent of the black students exceeded national test averages.[23]

Joyce Mallory, School Board Member

The method by which MPS desegregated its schools did not ensure equal educational opportunity for all students. . . . Its reliance on specialty and magnet schools resulted in a kind of two-tier system where I have a group of high quality city specialty schools where both black and white students receive an excellent education. . . .the original premise of school desegregation has never been linked with quality education. . . .So we were never told or required to provide educational programs to correct deficiencies that many children of color, particularly black children had, once desegregation occurred. . . .[24]

David Hase, President, Mequon-Thiensville School Board

Support for school desegregation efforts are fast eroding because of costs and quality issues. . . . MPS is not a quality school in comparison to some of the suburban schools. There are some fine schools in the district, but overall there is much to do regarding quality. Integration and quality must be compatible and not competing goals. The enhancement of quality does not justify the reduction of integration efforts. There needs to be a happy marriage between quality and desegregation. . . .[25]

State Representative Polly Williams

The only kids who are benefactors of this whole system [desegregation] are the white students. They're the ones that are making it in the system. And, of course, those children of parents who can afford to pay and purchase the kind of education they want. Poor people don't have the chance at all here. . . .We don't want this desegregation. Desegregation in the city of Milwaukee is terrible, and I'd like to see it abolished and go back to educating our children in our neighborhoods regardless of color. And it doesn't matter if they're all black schools. I think black kids can learn in an all-black situation.[26]

Dr. Howard Fuller, Director, Department of Health and Human Services

Basically, what I believe is that Milwaukee pursued a discriminatory implementation of desegregation; and that, in essence, what happened

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22 Ibid., pp. 107-08, 111-12, 115.

23 Ibid., pp. 298, 301-02.

24 Ibid., pp. 121-23.

25 Ibid., pp. 198-99, 207-08.

26 Ibid., pp. 275-76.

> in Milwaukee was they stood the *Brown* decision on its head. . . . There were tremendous gaps in achievement levels between white kids and black kids in elementary schools. And all of this was hidden by the refusal of MPS, up until the Governor's Commission was put together, to develop disaggregate data so that we could, in fact, understand what was happening to African American children, and for that matter, the Hispanic children. . . . Because it was all covered up in aggregate data, and it was only after we actually begin to disaggregate the data that the truth about what was happening to African American children in these desegregated schools begin to come to light.[27]

Since Dr. Fuller's presentation before the Wisconsin Advisory Committee, he was appointed superintendent of MPS and now has the opportunity to address the problems associated with desegregation and academic achievement.

In August 1991 Dr. Fuller presented to the school board proposals for long-term reform of MPS. His proposals related primarily to improved education and intradistrict pupil assignment issues. The major thrust of his reform is high academic achievement by establishing higher graduation requirements, tougher school safety and discipline standards, greater parental choice and involvement, school by school accountability, and a school construction plan aimed at easing crowding. With the exception of his parental choice initiatives, his reform plans were well received by the school board.[28]

Other Minorities

Ethnic minorities such as Hispanics and Asians perceive that desegregation has not benefited them.[29] The 1976 desegregation order was only written in terms of black students and white students.[30] For desegregation purposes, Hispanics were classified as white.[31] Moreover, there was not much support for desegregation in the Hispanic community because by and large they feared busing and the loss of neighborhood schools.[32] Hispanics say that desegregation has caused their children's educational needs to be neglected.[33] Although student achievement for Hispanics is not as low as blacks, Hispanic children, like black children, have failed to make acceptable academic progress.[34]

MPS's 1989-90 report card on achievement showed that, similar to blacks, the rate of suspension rose in schools with large Hispanic populations.[35] Hispanics received a collective GPA of 2.0 or higher in at least two schools.[36] Miguel Berry of the Mexican American Society stated that Hispanics, who are only 9.3 percent of the student population, make up 86 percent of student dropouts.[37] Although Hispanics are 9.0 percent of MPS students enrolled in Chapter 220,[38] some Hispanics perceive that their children's level of participation in this program, as well as in the specialty schools, has been limited.[39] Mr. Berry said this is due to low Hispanic enrollments in the feeder schools that access the specialty

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27 Ibid., pp. 76, 82.

28 "School Board Likes Fuller Plan with Exception of School Choice," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 11, 1991, p. B-2.

29 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 344, 60; "Hispanic Pupils' Needs Must Not Get Lost in Desegregation Shuffle," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 31, 1987, p. B-1.

30 John F. Witte, "Educational Inequality and Metropolitan Integration in Milwaukee" (Paper prepared for the National Conference on School Desegregation Research, University of Chicago, Sept. 5, 1986), p. 22.

31 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 344.

32 Ibid.

33 "Hispanic Pupils' Needs Must Not Get Lost in Desegregation Shuffle," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 31, 1987, p. B-1.

34 Ibid.

35 "Societal Conditions Contributed to Poor 'Report Card,'" *The Milwaukee Community Journal*, Oct. 24, 1990, p. 1.

36 Ibid.

37 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 344. (Official enrollment data provided by MPS indicate Hispanics comprise 9.8 percent of the student enrollment.)

38 Ibid.

39 Ibid.

schools.[40] In the quest for quality education for Hispanics, Mr. Berry said that actions should be taken to eradicate low expectations of Hispanic students, eliminate cultural and language barriers, and take affirmative steps to recruit Hispanic teachers.[41]

Asian students are 3,352 or 3.4 percent of MPS pupil population.[42] Being a smaller group than both blacks and Hispanics, Asians tend to be less visible and less affected by desegregation. Asian students are enrolled in MPS schools and Chapter 220. However, they prefer attending the suburban schools. Enrollment figures for 1990-91 show that of the Chapter 220 students, 13 percent were Asians versus 2.6 enrollment in MPS schools.[43] A representative from the Asian community, Chia Thao of the Hmong American Friendship Association, stated that Asian students prefer the suburban schools because they feel more comfortable with the teachers.[44]

Asian parents are primarily concerned about cultural and language barriers in the schools.[45] Some suggested recommendations for improved education for Asian students were elimination of language barriers through bilingual transitional education for students and adults, after-school tutoring, bilingual teacher aides, creative and nondiscriminatory methods of teaching limited-English-speaking students, and drug and alcohol counseling.[46] Mr. Thao's main criticism of the schools was poor channels to information about school programs caused by language and cultural barriers.[47]

It appears that both Hispanic and Asian students have been somewhat invisible or uninvolved participants in the school desegregation program.

During research for the "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan," the following comments were made about and by Hispanics and Asians regarding desegregation practices of MPS:

—There is confusion because the definition of desegregation is based on categories of blacks and nonblacks for Milwaukee, rather than blacks, Hispanics, Asian Americans, Native Americans as one category of protected minorities versus whites in the intradistrict transfer program. (Interview with central administrator 1989)

—The school system gives "lip service" to bilingual programs and is not diligent in providing equal access for bilingual students to specialty schools. (Interview with linguistic minority person 1989)

—Ethnic minorities are discouraged from participating in the interdistrict transfer program even though some are in the category of protected minorities for whom the program was created because the city school system wishes to keep them, since they are classified as white in Milwaukee. (Interview with ethnic minority person 1989)

—There is no programmatic protection for language minorities who are not in bilingual programs. (Interview with linguistic minority person 1989)

—In bilingual education the language-development programs are not in the predominantly white schools but are in the predominantly black schools. (Interview with linguistic minority person 1989)

—There is no clear policy on exceptional education services for bilingual students who need such services. (Interview with linguistic minority person 1989)

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40 Ibid.

41 Ibid., p. 345.

42 Gary Peterson, coordinator of Research, Milwaukee Public Schools, telephone interview, Mar. 4, 1992.

43 Dr. Howard Fuller, superintendent of schools, letter with enrollment figures to Melvin Jenkins, director, Central Regional Office, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, June 21, 1991.

44 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 59-60.

45 Ibid., pp. 58-65.

46 Ibid.

47 Ibid., pp. 63-65.

> —Many linguistic minorities cannot fill out the paperwork to get the options that are available and there is no one available to give guidance. Parent Information Centers are needed and should be in each Service Delivery Area. (Interview with linguistic minority persons 1989)[48]

The preceding information would strongly indicate that much of the desegregation debate in Milwaukee revolves around whether black students have benefited academically from desegregation. As the available data show, educational outcomes for black students are less than satisfactory, and the gap continues to widen between white and black students.[49] Assuming that enough time and financial assistance have gone into desegregation, what other factors affect the schooling of students? According to Michael Smith, president of the Milwaukee Metropolitan Alliance of Black Educators, other conditions such as single parent homes, joblessness, teen pregnancy, and crime contribute to the educational morass in urban schools.[50] In response to the 1990 MPS report card on educational performance of blacks, Mr. Smith stated:

> Negative living conditions have an adverse effect on the ability of students to learn. . . . Schools are not doing anything that is making it worse but rather it's something going on in the lives of the students that is making *them* worse. . . . The findings of the report card are not so much a reflection on the schools, but the quality of life which is getting worse.[51]

Gary Orfield, a desegregation expert, believes it is reasonable to expect some academic benefit from desegregation, but suggests that poverty and other socioeconomic-related experiences also influence desegregation outcomes.[52] The Mitchell report, the only study on integration and achievement outcomes, does not fully take into account all of these factors. It is known from longitudinal studies that have been done in other cities that desegregation appears to have some positive effects. Robert L. Crain's work on the long-term effects of desegregation in Hartford, Connecticut, for example, shows that black students who participated in a desegregation program, compared to a control group who did not, were more likely to go to college, to graduate, to get professional jobs, to avoid problems with police, to avoid unwed parenthood, and to have more white friends.[53] James Rosenbaum's research on school experiences of low-income black children in white suburbs also shows favorable outcomes for students and families who participated fully in school desegregation.[54] Until MPS conducts further research on the question of desegregation effects and what the long-term benefits and costs have been, the debate on desegregation versus quality education will not likely be settled soon.

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48 Charles V. Willie, Michael J. Alves, and David J. Hartman, "Long-Range Educational Equality Plan for Milwaukee Public Schools" (February 1990), app. I-14-15.

49 *Mitchell Report*, p. 53.

50 "Societal Conditions Contributed to Poor 'Report Card,'" *The Milwaukee Community Journal*, Oct. 24, 1990, p. 1.

51 Ibid.

52 "Achievement Gap Continues," *Omaha World-Herald*, Aug. 19, 1991, p. 1.

53 Robert L. Crain, "The Long-Term Effects of Desegregation: Results from a True Experiment" (Paper prepared for the National Conference on School Desegregation Research, Chicago, Ill., September 1986).

54 James E. Rosenbaum, "School Experiences of Low-Income Black Children in White Suburbs" (Paper prepared for National Conference on School Desegregation Research, Chicago, Ill., September 1986).

4. Human Relations

While desegregation provides a legal remedy for constitutional violations, it was also hoped desegregation would reduce racial tensions and prepare students for living in a diverse society.[1] Therefore, the success of school desegregation also depends on the degree to which students, teachers, administrators, and parents are able to create conditions under which students of different races are brought together to understand and accept each other.[2] Based on this assumption, quality education cannot be measured solely by grades and test scores, and as pointed out by then President Richard M. Nixon:

> It is a place not only of learning but also of living—where a child's friendships center, where he learns to measure himself against others, to share, to compete, to cooperate—and it is the one institution above all others with which the parent shares his child.[3]

The actions and attitudes of students, teachers, and parents of the differing racial groups are highly significant elements of the desegregation process and its successful outcome. The questions raised here are: What is the racial climate in the schools? What is the nature and extent of integration among students, teachers, administrators, and parents? What steps have been taken to promote successful adjustments to desegregation and racial understanding?

It is reasonable to assume that increased racial polarization in the broader community of Milwaukee over such issues as police-community relations, employment opportunities, housing, and increased militancy within the black leadership has affected MPS's ability to integrate schools in the metropolitan area.[4]

Since much of the concern about desegregation in Milwaukee has focused on the academic achievement of blacks and maintaining racially balanced schools, there has not been much study on the racial climate in the schools. During the 1989-90 and 1990-91 school years, a number of racial incidents were reported between Chapter 220 students and suburban students and between black and white students attending school in MPS.[5] During 1989-90 the racial tensions increased to the point that a circuit court judge of the children's court recommended that the courts work directly with MPS to ease racial tensions.[6] This was triggered by the judge's observations of increased cases involving racial conflicts among students. The judge attributed part of the cause to integration in the schools.[7]

Information received during the community forum revealed considerable racial polarization among teachers and a negative view of white teachers by some blacks in the broader community.[8] According to State Representative Polly Williams and her legislative aide, Larry Harwell, this is caused by white teachers' insensitivity, control by a predominately white teachers' union over educational decisions affecting black students, unfair teacher assignments,

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1 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Milliken v. Bradley: The Implications for Metropolitan Desegregation* (Conference, Nov. 9, 1974), p. 131.

2 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Racial Isolation in the Public Schools* (Feb. 9, 1967), p. 157.

3 U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Understanding School Desegregation* (1971), p. 12.

4 "Call for Black Militia Stuns Milwaukee," *The New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1990, p. B-1.

5 Milwaukee Public Schools, *Chapter 220 Report for 1989-90 and 1990-91* (April 1991), pp. 59-60; "Race Problems Tied to Misconceptions," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 5, 1990, p. B-3; "Embattled Bufkin Urges Unity at School," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 23, 1990, p. 1; "Officials Deny Racial Problems in Falls Schools," *Waukesha Freeman*, May 22, 1990, p. A-1.

6 "Judges Say Racial Tensions May Be Rising," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 22, 1990, p. 1.

7 Ibid.

8 Wisconsin Advisory Committee to U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, community forum, May 22-23, 1990, *Transcript*, pp, 267-71, 318-20 (hereafter cited as *Transcript*).

and the use of racial quotas to maintain a racially balanced teacher staff.[9]

State Representative Polly Williams stated:

> The desegregation settlement made sure that the ratio of teachers in the schools would always be 7 whites out of 10 teachers. And if there's a black teacher in school and the number of black teachers are going over that amount, they move the black teacher. . . . And we have some black teachers that really are very upset. They call me because they have been at the schools for years. They know the children. They want to stay at these schools, but if that 30 percent level is attained a seasoned experienced black teacher will have to leave the black school and be replaced by a new white—someone who just got out of college, who doesn't even know the kids, who has no interest, and who's only coming in because all the white teachers have to serve time in the black community to get their experience so that they can get the better jobs, the better positions.[10]

In regard to white control over school decisions, State Representative Williams reported:

> [Black teachers] are outvoted by all the white teachers. And they'll say that they know that what they [white educators] have decided to do is not going to work for this majority-black student body that's in those schools. But the white teachers say, "No, this is what we want." And the vote always comes down on the side of the majority white, and it's very frustrating.[11]

Felmers Chaney, president of the Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP, reported that to some extent the lack of parental involvement in the schools is caused by poor communications and insensitivity by school staff. He stated:

> [Black parents] don't face up too good with the school system because they feel a little intimidated. Half the time when the parents have to go in, we [NAACP] have to go in with them. Everybody looks down their nose on them, teachers and principals. . . .In the school we will never get quality education unless we do something inside of the schools. We either have to have a retraining program or we have to have a firing program. . . .Because anytime the teachers sit in a room in a school where the majority of them are black and when the bell rings, the teachers sit there and say, "Here come those animals"—something is wrong with those teachers.[12]

Some examples cited as cultural insensitivity by white teachers were their annoyance at black dress styles and lack of understanding of black culture.[13]

An effort to address interpersonal and human relations in the schools was the Integrated Pupil and Family Support Task Force, established in 1989 to develop a cooperative program through which community agencies, parents, and MPS work together to increase student attendance and social and academic achievement. In May 1990 the task force issued its report with findings and recommendations that, among other things, expressly addressed prevention and intervention strategies to deal with race and cultural relations in the schools.[14] The task force determined that student programs that fostered "belongingness," social responsibility, and positive social experiences were needed. Minority parents, in particular, reported a need for a review of desegregation laws and courses on human and race relations for students and staff. Parents also expressed a concern about the disproportionate number of white staff educating their children.[15] Steps proposed to address these concerns were inservice training for teachers on human and race relations, review of desegregation issues, and expansion of strategies such as peer counseling, cross-age tutoring, and peer mediation.[16] Other relevant recommendations made by the task force were to plan and pilot a multicultural awareness program, infuse multicultural diversity into the curriculum, and to train minority parents in establishing effective partnerships with teachers.[17] Al-

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9 Ibid.

10 Ibid., pp. 268-69.

11 Ibid., pp. 269-70.

12 Ibid., pp. 317-18.

13 Ibid., pp. 270-71.

14 Milwaukee Public Schools, *Report of the Integrated Pupil Family Support Services Task Force* (May 10, 1990), pp. 1-3, 7-17, 41-56.

15 Ibid., pp. 7-17, 41-52.

16 Ibid.

though implementation of these recommendations is only in its initial stages, this is an opportunity for MPS to enhance, honestly and effectively, interracial and cultural relations among staff, students, and parents.[18]

The 1987 metropolitan desegregation lawsuit settlement agreement provided for a coordinating council. The council consists of 46 members, equally divided into city and suburban representation. The staff for the council is called the Compact for Educational Opportunity (CEO). The staff is responsible, among other things, for human relations, staff development, recruitment of minority teachers, and resolving complaints of each district.[19]

To date, the racial climate and interracial relations in the suburban schools participating in Chapter 220 have not been fully studied. The 1989-90 and 1990-91 Chapter 220 annual reports do describe, to a limited degree, identified problems and efforts to address racial and cultural relations.[20]

During the last 2 years, there were several human relations problems involving MPS Chapter 220 students in suburban districts. Fights, walkouts, and demonstrations involving MPS Chapter 220 students occurred in Franklin, Brown Deer, and Greendale. Also, a media report in May 1990 identified two racial incidents involving minor skirmishes between white students and black Chapter 220 students in the Menomonee Falls School District.[21] In each instance, the MPS human relations team and/or the CEO team assisted the suburban district in resolving the problem through counseling and meetings with administrators, students, teachers, and parents.[22]

MPS identified the following as underlying tensions between MPS Chapter 220 students and resident suburban students:

1. Lack of African-American staff;
2. Lack of multicultural curriculum;
3. Perceived inequitable treatment;
4. Racial slurs and comments;
5. Failure to celebrate African-American History month;
6. Inadequate recognition of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Birthday; and
7. Lack of organized African-American student unions.[23]

Steps have been taken by some districts to address these problems. Franklin hired its own Chapter 220 program administrator and human relations coordinator. Brown Deer has adopted a multicultural, ethnic, and race relations policy and is working toward a multicultural curriculum. Greendale plans to create a new staff position to oversee the Chapter 220 program.[24] Menomonee Falls school officials provided counseling to the students and parents involved in the 1990 racial incidents.[25] The MPS human relations team, which is responsible for helping suburban districts to resolve concerns of Chapter 220 students, also encourages each district to take preventive measures to address human relations issues.[26]

Andrea Whidbee, ombudsperson for the CEO, describes her job as a mediator/arbitrator of Chapter 220 disputes for the 23 suburban school districts and MPS. She monitors pupil-related problems. If there are conflicts that either the city or suburban districts are experiencing, she is responsible for working out

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17 Ibid.

18 *Transcript*, p. 26.

19 Settlement Agreement, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, 84-C-877, Sept. 16, 1987, p. 8; George Mitchell, "An Evaluation of State Financed School Integration in Metropolitan Milwaukee" (Wisconsin Policy Research Institute: June 1989), p. 17.

20 Milwaukee Public Schools, *Chapter 220 Report for 1989-90 and 1990-91* (April 1991), pp. 59-60.

21 "Officials Deny Racial Problems in Falls Schools," *Waukesha Freeman*, May 22, 1990, p. A-1.

22 Milwaukee Public Schools, *Chapter 220 Report for 1989-90 and 1990-91*, pp. 50-60.

23 Ibid.

24 Ibid., pp. 59-60.

25 "Officials Deny Racial Problems in Falls Schools," *Waukesha Freeman*, May 22, 1990, p. A-1.

26 Milwaukee Public Schools, *Chapter 220 Report for 1990-91*, p. 60.

those problems. Ms. Whidbee admitted that many suburban schools do not have in place a process for resolving complaints. Although this is a problem, she believes attempts are made by districts to resolve them in a fair and equitable manner.[27]

Ms. Whidbee said that Chapter 220 parents are very concerned about quality of education. These concerns have focused on curriculum offerings and different learning styles that their children might need.[28] Some suburban districts have never faced such issues. The conflicts she is most often called upon to resolve are behavior and discipline problems. These problems are many times characterized by statements such as: "Those children cannot learn. Those children are not interested in education. Those children are not sitting still. What is wrong with those children?"[29]

A problem affecting the level of parental involvement is black parents' inadequacy in articulating the educational needs of their children.[30] One of the complaints she receives most often from black parents is the inability of some teachers to work with diverse learning styles and behaviors.[31] In other cases, she said, some of the black students fail to produce because they do not want to exceed the expectations of their peers because it is not "cool" to be intelligent.[32]

According to Ms. Whidbee, Chapter 220 students experience a significant degree of isolation because they attend schools where, in most cases, they do not establish any social bonds, unlike children who attend school in their own neighborhood.[33] Ms. Whidbee describes a student's reaction to this problem: "You know, I want to go to this school, I like what the school has to offer, but I don't have any friends."[34]

Ms. Whidbee stated that some steps are being taken by suburban schools to assist districts toward enhancing interracial and cultural experiences. Some of the districts are employing a school-community liaison person to work with MPS transfer students and parents.[35] School districts like Shorewood, West Allis, and Menomonee Falls have hired human relation specialists or parent/community liaison persons to assist and resolve student problems associated with desegregation.[36] Some of the districts have also established a Host Family Program, which provides an opportunity for interaction between city and suburban families. A host family serves as a surrogate parent for a MPS transfer student whose parents cannot attend a school meeting or activity. Other levels of interaction provided through this program are night-overs by students with the host family during inclement weather.[37]

Susan Phillips, executive director of the Greater Milwaukee Education Trust and a member of the Shorewood School Board, indicated that in 1984 a number of case studies done in conjunction with the 1985 commission study revealed significant racial tensions in some school districts.[38] She reported that Shorewood hired a full-time human relations specialist who has made the human aspect of racial and cultural integration easier.[39] But most important, she said, Shorewood's affirmative human relations efforts have been enhanced by a strong cadre of parents who are committed to integration.[40]

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27 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 37-38.

28 Ibid., pp. 38-39.

29 Ibid., p. 40.

30 Ibid., p. 41.

31 Ibid,, pp. 41-43.

32 Ibid., p. 44.

33 Ibid., p. 45.

34 Ibid., p. 45.

35 Ibid., p. 42.

36 Ibid., p. 353; *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 17.

37 *Transcript*, vol. II, p. 45.

38 Ibid., p. 8.

39 Ibid., p. 17.

40 Ibid.

David Hase, president of the Mequon-Thiensville School Board, and Susan Phillips both emphasized the need for more minority hiring in the suburban schools.[41] Although Mr. Hase believes the Metropolitan Employment Recruitment Office of the CEO and the suburban districts have been very successful in their hiring efforts, Ms. Phillips suggested that ongoing and more creative efforts are needed in this area.[42]

Superintendents of Whitnall and Whitefish Bay suburban school districts were asked to provide the Advisory Committee information as to how well Chapter 220 is working in their districts. William Hittman of Whitnall and Leroy Rieck of Whitefish Bay said that the Chapter 220 program is progressing well in their respective school districts.[43] During the 1989-90 school year, Whitnall had 280 Chapter 220 transfer students and 60 resident students who were enrolled in MPS specialty schools. Most city transfer students enrolled in Whitnall are Asian.[44] Mr. Hittman stated that Whitnall's high Asian enrollment is due in part to the individualized transportation provided with small vans and station wagons that Asian children prefer over the county bus system.[45] Whitefish Bay had 330 Chapter 220 transfer students and 22 resident students attending MPS specialty schools.[46]

From the information provided by Mr. Hittman, interracial and cultural relations among students, parents, and staff at Whitnall seem to be very good.[47] Although there was no information provided to indicate that the district had established a formal or organized human relations program, good interracial contacts appear to have been established informally.[48] To describe the district's interracial and cultural relations, two black students, Paul Johnson and Donte Fitzgerald of Whitnall, spoke to the Advisory Committee about their school experiences. Both students are juniors who are doing well academically and participate fully in extracurricular activities. Paul Johnson stated:

> My mother and I chose Whitnall Middle School because it would be in my best interest, and it would provide me a good education for my future schooling. Another reason I chose Whitnall is that the schools in my neighborhood would not give me a good education, plus they weren't all that safe to go to. My years of attending Whitnall Middle School were good, so I had the choice of going to the high school. I chose to go to the high school. . . .I've made numerous friends that live in the area, which I'm very close to. And if I would recommend a school in the Milwaukee area to go to, I would tell them to go to Whitnall. Because you can meet new people and receive a good education that will be good for college purposes. Even if you go into the lower tracks that they have at Whitnall, they still urge you to take 4 years of math, 4 years of English, 3 years of history, and 4 years of foreign language.[49]

Donte Fitzgerald stated:

> I only have good things to say about this school district. I've experienced no racism or discrimination of any kind. As far as education is concerned, I think Whitnall is one of the top schools in the Milwaukee area. They have numerous courses which I feel will be able to prepare me for my college career. The transfer students were expected to do the same work as the resident students. And we also have the same opportunities to stay after school and get extra help. As far as intercultural relationships go, I guess I'd be a good example of this because our prom was last Saturday and I attended the dance with a white girl. . . .In my case, I feel completely at home when I'm in the district any time of the day and night. And to sum it all up, I guess, the only thing I regret about attending Whitnall is that I didn't come earlier.[50]

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41 *Transcript*, vol. I., pp. 201-02; vol. II, p. 10.

42 Ibid.

43 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 163, 179.

44 Ibid., pp. 160, 184, 193.

45 Ibid., p. 194.

46 Ibid., p. 157.

47 Ibid., p. 179.

48 Ibid., pp. 179-80.

49 Ibid., pp. 183-183.

50 Ibid., p. 181.

Dr. Rieck of Whitefish Bay stated that the district is fully committed to the Chapter 220 program and ensuring that it is successfully implemented.[51] In that effort, during the 1988-89 school year the district did a year-long study of the Chapter 220 program at the high school. Surveys were administered to parents, current students, former students, teachers, and community leaders. In addition, discussion groups were held with transfer parents and students. Major findings which emerged from the study included the following:

1. Transportation is a source of frustration for parents. Providing buses for extracurricular activities is an expressed need.

2. Although parents feel that Whitefish Bay High School provided a challenging course of study, they are not sure that their children are able to receive maximum benefits from it.

3. Even though parents indicated that their children feel accepted by Whitefish Bay High School, racial climate still emerged as the largest concern by parents.

4. Opportunities for Chapter 220 parents to become involved with the school should be increased.

5. Students identified more things that they liked about Whitefish Bay High School than they disliked.

6. In general, transfer students feel accepted at Whitefish Bay High School. They tend to identify with all students and feel little pressure to associate with a particular group.

7. Over half the respondents indicated that they have experienced negative racial comments or actions from resident students, teachers, or staff, or other transfer students.

8. Students have concerns about minority issues being represented in textbooks and presented in classes.[52]

Of the responses, transportation was cited as the most negative part of the Chapter 220 program, followed by racial environment and social interactions.[53]

In an effort to increase the involvement of parents of transfer students in the life of the school district, the district selected two parents during the 1989-90 school year to serve as transfer parent facilitator.[54] During the same school year, a seven-member team from the school district attended a year-long course at Marquette University on improving the Chapter 220 program. A team project was completed in April 1990. Recommendations made by the team included:

1. The creation and implementation of an ongoing K-12 committee on multicultural education.

2. The definition and dissemination of descriptors stating the district's intent and plan of action to meaningfully address equity and excellence issues for all students.

3. The coordination of existing programs in the district to collectively address equity and excellence issues, and

4. The adoption of a policy on human dignity.[55]

Frieda Curry, president and founder of Parents Concerned About Chapter 220, stated that the organization was formed to represent the educational interests of MPS transfer students.[56] The group has less than 100 members. Ms. Curry said that she is disap-

51 Ibid., p. 163.
52 Ibid., pp. 159-60.
53 Ibid., p. 160.
54 Ibid., pp. 160-61.
55 Ibid., pp. 161-162.
56 Ibid., p. 350.

pointed in the low number of members when there are well over 5,000 city transfer students.[57]

Ms. Curry stated that the number one concern of parents is quality education.[58] Some parents, however, have become disillusioned with the Chapter 220 program because peer isolation and teacher insensitivity have caused their children to have low self-esteem.[59] She alleged that one of the major problems for Chapter 220 students is the discipline practices of some schools.[60]

Ms. Curry recommended that each suburban school district establish a parent-community liaison person to assist in providing human relations services.[61]

57 Ibid., pp. 355-56.

58 Ibid., p. 357.

59 Ibid., pp. 351, 357.

60 Ibid., p. 351.

61 Ibid.

5. Fifteen Years Later—Other Strategies Used to Improve Education

In reaction to dismal educational outcomes, MPS and others in the broader community continue to explore ways to improve the educational performance of minorities. School reform and restructuring have been initiated through various efforts, such as school-based management, which was started 3 years ago, and a school attendance plan developed in 1990 to bring about equity and efficiency in student assignments.[1]

Implementation of school-based management, in which decisionmaking is concentrated in the individual schools rather than in the central office, has been painfully slow.[2] The Long-Range Equity Plan that was developed to address inequities in the student assignment process and maintain the benefits of the past 12 years of desegregation in Milwaukee was not implemented due to opposition primarily from white parents.[3] The plan tried not only to streamline and simplify assignment of students, but to reduce busing, give parents more choice in school selection, increase the number of students attending neighborhood schools, and desegregate the 16 city schools with black enrollments of 95 percent or higher.[4] Most recently, the Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce is paying a consultant to assist the district in its school reform.[5]

Now MPS has placed itself in the forefront of school reform in the area of school choice and the establishment of black male academies. The following provides a brief overview of MPS efforts in each of these areas.

School Choice

School choice has been one of the most talked about educational reforms since the *Brown* decision. Proponents of choice, who now include liberals as well as conservatives, say it is an effective way to compel school improvement through competitive alternatives. John Chubb, senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, and Terry Moe, a political scientist at Stanford University, coauthored *Politics, Markets and America's Schools,* in which they espoused dismantling the current public school system and replacing it with a "choice" system in which schools would compete for students, as well as be accountable for their school performance.[6] Critics of choice call it a political gimmick to divert attention from the need to put more money into public schools, especially those serving the poor.[7] The most vocal opposition to the choice concept has come from educators, who argue that giving parents the chance to move their children from school to school will make educational planning difficult, leave some schools with the most difficult students to educate, and threaten the viability of schools because of lost enrollments.[8] At least a dozen States and scores of local school districts now allow parents to choose which public school their children

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1 Information provided to the Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at its community forum on May 22-23, 1990, *Transcript,* vol. II, p. 12 (hereafter cited as *Transcript);* Charles V. Willie, Michael J. Alves, and David J. Hartman, "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan for Milwaukee Public Schools" (February 1990), p. 1 (hereafter cited as "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan").

2 *Transcript,* vol. II, p. 12.

3 *Transcript,* vol. I, p. 108; "School Attendance Plan Evokes Distrust," *Milwaukee Journal,* Mar. 1, 1990, p. B-1; "Action on School Plan Too Rushed Parents Say," *Milwaukee Journal,* Feb. 28, 1990, p. A-1.

4 "School Attendance Plan Evokes Distrust," *Milwaukee Journal,* Mar. 1, 1990, p. B-1.

5 "Loyalty of Advisor Questioned," *Milwaukee Journal,* Mar. 9, 1992, p. B-1.

6 "Minorities Overwhelmingly Favor Public School Choice," *Washington Times,* Aug. 24, 1990, p. A-2.

7 "Wave of Future: A Choice of Schools," *New York Times,* June 4, 1989, p. A-1.

8 Ibid.

will attend, thus abandoning the practice of assigning students to schools on the basis of where they live.[9]

In Wisconsin, through the legislative efforts of State Representative Polly Williams, the State enacted the first law in the Nation that allows low-income children to attend private, nonsectarian schools. President George Bush has called the Williams Choice Plan "the most interesting experiment in education reform" and at one time it was the centerpiece of his plan to become the "education president."[10] Williams' plan is unique because it is the first to channel public funds directly to private schools and the first specifically geared toward low-income inner-city children.[11] The Choice Plan, which was legally challenged by the teachers' unions, the school board, and the State superintendent of education—and bitterly opposed by the Milwaukee chapter of the NAACP—will allow parents of about 1,000 low-income students in Milwaukee to send their children to private schools. The State will pay through a voucher system up to $2,500 in State education money that previously went to the city's public school system.[12] In September 1990 an initial 400 students opted to attend private schools through this parental choice program.[13] According to Governor Tommy Thompson, "the plan allows for choice and competition that will make both the public and private schools much stronger."[14] But Robert Peterkin, the former superintendent of MPS, said the law threatens public education by leaving the city schools with the hardest-to-educate students and fewer resources.[15]

Dr. Howard Fuller, the recently appointed superintendent, proposed to the school board a school reform plan that included increasing parent involvement in school choice decisions within the district. However, this proposal met with some opposition and has been held in abeyance.[16]

In March 1992 the Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld the State's 1990 school choice law, which had been challenged by a variety of public school groups.[17] The court, in reversing a State appeals court decision, ruled that the law does not violate the doctrine of spending State money for the public good, in part because the private schools benefiting from the vouchers are supervised well enough "to attain the public purpose of improving educational quality."[18] The legal battle over the law will be closely watched by teacher's unions and conservative groups, who view it as a possible precursor to a Federal judicial battle over the constitutionality of such "voucher" programs.[19]

What are the implications of school choice for desegregation? Opponents equate choice with elitism or discrimination. They are concerned that some parents may abuse their right to select a school as a way of avoiding racial integration.[20] Some proponents of choice say that it may in fact enhance racial integration, as many desegregation plans used by school districts were designed around the concept of school choice to promote voluntary racial desegregation.[21] MPS's specialty schools, although enhancing deseg-

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9 Ibid.

10 "The Polly Williams Backlash," *Wall Street Journal*, June 14, 1990, p. A-14; "Wave of Future: A Choice of Schools," *New York Times*, June 4, 1989, p. A-1.

11 "Wisconsin Tries Voucher Plan," *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 1, 1990, B-1.

12 "School Choice for Minorities Gaining Support," *Washington Times*, Oct. 25, 1990, p. A-3; "The Polly Williams Backlash," *Wall Street Journal*, June 14, 1990, p. A-14.

13 "School Choice for Minorities Gaining Support," *Washington Times*, Oct. 26, 1990, p. A-3.

14 "Milwaukee Parents Get More Choice in Schools," *New York Times*, Mar. 28, 1990, p. C-1.

15 Ibid.

16 "Fuller Offers Do-or-Die Way to Fix Schools," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 6, 1991, p. B-1.

17 Davis v. Grover, 480 N.W.2d, 460 (Wis. 1992).

18 *Id.* at 463.

19 "School-Choice Law in Wisconsin Upheld by State High Court," *Wall Street Journal*, Mar. 6, 1992, p. A-10.

20 "About Education: The Right to Choose a School, A Pillar of Democracy or an Invitation to Elitism?" *New York Times*, Mar. 29, 1989, p. A-2.

21 "Wave of Future: A Choice of Schools," *New York Times*, June 4, 1989, p. A-1.

regation to some degree, have also created inequities by race and socioeconomic status for participation in these programs.[22] Although choice extends options to the poor that the wealthy already have, it may also polarize educational systems into strong and weak schools and foster a new form of segregation by social class and previous success in school.[23]

One of the considerations that this issue raises is: What is to be done about the children left behind, who probably need good schools the most but, because their parents are absent, uninformed, or indifferent, are left in the weak schools?[24] Donald Moore, executive director of a Chicago research organization, Designs for Change, studied magnet schools in Boston, Chicago, New York, and Philadelphia. A *New York Times* article quoting him stated:

> "Magnet schools attract the best teachers and often get additional funds," he said, "and middle-class families of all races figure out which schools are the best and end up getting their kids in those schools. This leaves the vast majority of families out in the cold.". . . .While the theory holds that magnet schools will inspire all schools to become better, the improvements do not help low-achieving students. "The reality is that principals will create new programs for high-achieving students in order to keep them from going elsewhere," he said, "but they aren't interested in keeping the rest."[25]

Mr. Moore acknowledged that a school choice plan can be a moderately effective incentive for schools to improve but only if it is tied into an overall strategy for improving all schools.[26] In recognizing the possible adverse effect school choice may have upon integration, some States (such as Minnesota, Iowa, Arkansas, Nebraska, Ohio, Utah, and Idaho) offer choice plans that take race into account.[27]

Dr. John Witte, of the University of Wisconsin-Madison, was appointed by the State department of public instruction to evaluate MPS's parental choice program. A preliminary report on the program was completed in November 1991.[28] The report focused on school selection, program dynamics, parental involvement, a preliminary analysis of educational outcomes, and recommendations. The report is very preliminary because of the short time the program had been in operation, uncertainties surrounding continuance of the program because of legal challenges, and the small number of students participating (341). The educational outcomes reported after the first year were mixed. Achievement test scores did not register dramatic gains, and the participating students remained approximately equal to low-income students in MPS. Student attendance, parental attitudes toward choice schools, and parental involvement were all positive. Attendance was slightly higher than in the average elementary school in MPS, and parental evaluations of the new schools were much more positive than of the former schools. The basic recommendation made was to continue the program for at least several more years so it could be assessed more fully.[29]

Black Male Schools

In recent years, some urban districts with large black populations have begun to establish separate schools or classes aimed exclusively at black male students. Milwaukee, Chicago, Detroit, and Baltimore were among the jurisdictions moving ahead with plans to put black males in an Afrocentric curriculum as a way of steering them from the self-destructive path that has led many to illiteracy, drugs, prison, and early death.[30] The establishment of black male academies has attracted national attention and

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22 "Long-Range Educational Equity Plan," p. vi; *Mitchell Report*, p. 3.

23 "Wave of Future: A Choice of Schools," *New York Times*, June 4, 1989, p. A-1.

24 "Skimming the Cream Off Schools," *New York Times*, July 25, 1991, p. A-2.

25 "Wave of Future: A Choice of Schools," *New York Times*, June 4, 1989, p. A-1.

26 Ibid.

27 "States That Allow A Choice of Schools," *New York Times*, Dec. 19, 1990, p. A-3.

28 John F. Witte, "The First Year Report, Milwaukee Parental Choice Program" (prepared for the Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction, November 1991).

29 Ibid., p. iv, pp. 1-2.

30 "School Geared to Black Boys Attract Girls," *Washington Times*, Sept. 3, 1991, p. A-3; "Black School Plan Too Risky," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 14, 1987, p. B-1.

is criticized as an illegal throwback to the days of segregated schools. Critics also complain that students will emerge from school ill-equipped to survive in the mainstream.[31]

Dr. Kenneth Clark, whose pioneering research into the deleterious effects of segregation on black children helped sway Supreme Court opinion in the *Brown* decision, says projects like the one established for MPS promote the resegregation of American schools, and countermand the Supreme Court decision in *Brown* that struck down separate but equal schools. He goes on to say:

> I read about these things and I can't believe that we're actually regressing like this. . . .This is contrary to everything that we were fighting against and everything that the research says about the benefits of learning black and white, male and female together. Even military schools today are coeducational. So why are we talking about segregating and stigmatizing black males?[32]

A lawsuit filed by the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Organization for Women's Legal Defense and Education Fund forced Detroit to allow girls to enroll in its special "academies" for black males.[33] However, President Bush declared his support for all-male educational programs for black youths and said he would support efforts to make such curricula legal if the Federal courts found them to be otherwise.[34]

This is not the first time that MPS has considered separate schools for blacks. In 1987 some prominent black leaders declared their frustration with desegregation and the bleak academic achievement of black students and proposed making nine already black schools into a separate and autonomous school district.[35] This particular effort failed but apparently still continues to be a viable option to some in the community.

The two new African American immersion academies in MPS were established in September 1991 in response to the deteriorating status of black males in the schools.[36] The basis for this concern was that of the approximately 5,716 black males enrolled in MPS, less than 20 percent had cumulative grade point averages of 2.0 or higher. During 1989-90 black males were 27.6 percent of the student population but 50 percent of the students suspended, and a staggeringly high dropout and low high school graduation rate had some young black males leaving school even at the elementary level.[37] In January 1990 MPS assembled a task force to study district programs affecting the life chances of its black male population. The task force studied the areas of student achievement, self-esteem, community involvement, school climate, and the family. The task force recommended that schools be established to address the special needs of black males.[38]

The adoption of black male schools was criticized by various groups. The national and local NAACP said that schools that segregate black males are wrong and probably illegal.[39] The Milwaukee Teacher's Education Association came out against the provision that the teaching staff be predominately male and black. The local teachers' union demanded that 75 percent of the teachers at these schools be white, in accordance with the desegregation guidelines that limit the percentage of minority teachers in school buildings.[40] Three of MPS's eight school board members opposed the black male school proposal, contending that isolation of students by race is unconstitutional and educationally unsound.[41]

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31 "A Throwback to Segregation," *New York Times*, Jan. 22, 1991, p. A-1.

32 Charles Whitaker, "Do Black Males Need Special Schools?" *Ebony*, March 1991, p. 18.

33 Ibid.; "Black Immersion Schools: Can Separate Education Succeed?" *Milwaukee Journal*, Nov. 8, 1990, p. A-1.

34 "Bush Backs All-Male Academies for Black Youths," *Kansas City Star*, Sept. 10, 1991, p. A-4.

35 "Black Leaders Want Own School District," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 12, 1987, p. A-1; "Black School District Plan Too Risky," *Milwaukee Journal*, Aug. 14, 1987, p. B-1.

36 African American Male Task Force, Milwaukee Public School, *Educating African American Males: A Dream Deferred*, May 1990, p. i.

37 Ibid., p. i, p. 2.

38 Ibid., p. ix, p. 5.

39 "Black Immersion Schools: Can Separate Education Succeed?" *Milwaukee Journal*, Nov. 8, 1990, p. A-1.

40 "School Geared to Black Boys Attracts Girls," *Washington Times*, Sept. 3, 1991, p. A-3.

MPS officials stated that they had always planned to open these schools to all students to comply with antidiscrimination laws, but the curriculum would revolve around African American heritage and the educational, social, and emotional needs of black males.[42] On September 26, 1990, the school board voted 5-3 to open two African American immersion academies during the 1991-92 school year for up to 1,300 students at the elementary and middle school level.[43]

Ken Holt, a Milwaukee principal and cochair of the African American male task force, stated that desegregation had not helped black students in MPS, especially in academic areas, nor had it produced the benefits expected from integration.[44] Therefore, he contends that there is a need to explore different and more supportive educational systems for black males because the present system has destroyed them.[45]

An evaluation committee has been established to monitor and assess the implementation of the program and its progress.[46] Dr. Diane Pollard, of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, who is chair of the evaluation team, stated that the focus of the evaluation will be program implementation and educational outcomes from qualitative and quantitative bases. Program implementation will be the first component evaluated. Feedback on how well the program operated will be provided to the district by the end of the 1991-92 school year.[47]

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41 "All-Black School Plan Gets Praise," *Washington Times*, Aug. 23, 1991, p. A-1.

42 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 219; "School Geared to Black Boys Attracts Girls," *Washington Times*, Sept. 3, 1991, p. A-3.

43 "Black Immersion Schools: Can Separate Education Succeed?" *Milwaukee Journal*, Nov. 8, 1990, p. A-1.

44 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 226-27.

45 Charles Whitaker, "Do Black Males Need Special Schools?" *Ebony*, March 1991, p. 22.

46 African American Male Task Force, Milwaukee Public Schools, *Educating African American Males: A Dream Deferred*, May 1990, p. 31.

47 Diane Pollard, associate professor, Department of Educational Psychology, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, telephone interview, Oct. 22, 1991.

6. Implications of Housing Patterns Upon School Integration

Housing segregation is one of the factors continually referred to as causing or reinforcing separation of blacks and whites. Like most urban centers, Milwaukee is separated into distinct groups living increasingly in isolation from each other. There is a growing separation between the poor and the affluent, between the well educated and the poorly educated, and between racial and ethnic groups. The racial, economic, and social stratification of living arrangements in Milwaukee are similarly mirrored in the schools. Although this problem is not new or unknown, the Wisconsin Advisory Committee wishes to document briefly the progress made in this area as well as problems that continue to exist.

A study, "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions," conducted in 1989 by Dr. Douglas Massey at the University of Chicago, identified Milwaukee as one of nine cities that are "hypersegregated," meaning that the metropolitan area had an extreme level of residential segregation.[1] Similarly, in the schools, in 1991 Wisconsin was ranked as the seventh most segregated State for black students by the National School Boards Association.[2] Three-quarters (75.3 percent) of black students were enrolled in segregated educational settings. Because most of the State's black population is in Milwaukee, the findings inferred that schools in Milwaukee are just as segregated or more.[3]

The relationship between school desegregation and housing segregation is complex and irrevocably tied. Gary Orfield in *The Closing Door* concluded:

> there are powerful relationships between residential segregation and the quality of education, the quality of housing, the availability of jobs, and income level. . . .Residential segregation remains a fundamental underlying feature of urban racial inequality in this period after the abolition of the old system of de jure racial discrimination. Although it is not illegal for the government to treat blacks and whites differently, extremely different levels of education are routinely provided to predominantly black and white communities and maintained by residential separation. It is particularly easy to discriminate when black and white areas are separated by municipal and school district boundaries. A wide variety of public and private institutions treat these black and white communities differently, producing consequences that may be as severe as those produced by de jure segregation. . . .Successful social policy will have to have a racial as well as an economic dimension recognizing the impact of the highly segregated metropolitan society. Separate urban societies remain profoundly unequal and a policy seeking greater equality must directly attack the color line and its continuing consequences.[4]

Milwaukee and the metropolitan region have always had a highly segregated housing pattern, and it remains so today. In 1984 when MPS sued the State and 24 suburban school districts, it claimed that the defendants' policies and practices encouraged racial segregation in Milwaukee housing and schools, causing inequality of educational opportunity in the metropolitan area.[5] Evidence was presented by legal experts and social scientists showing the actions taken by the housing industry and public agencies to foster segregated housing through zoning ordinances, racially restrictive covenants, and segregated subsidized housing projects.[6] In 1987, when a settlement agree-

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1 "Hypersegregation in U.S. Metropolitan Areas: Black and Hispanic Segregation Along Five Dimensions," *Demography*, 1989.

2 National School Boards Association, "Status of School Desegregation: The Next Generation," Jan. 1991; "The Nation's Schools Learns A 4th R: Resegregation," New York *Times*, Jan. 19, 1992.

3 Ibid.

4 Gary Orfield and Carole Ashkinaze, *The Closing Door, Conservative Policy and Black Opportunity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 12.

5 Information provided to the Wisconsin Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights at its community forum on May 22-23, 1990, *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 18 (hereafter cited as *Transcript*); "Experts Credibility Attacked in School Trial," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 5, 1987, p. B-1.

6 "Agencies Backed Housing Segregation, Expert Says," *Milwaukee Journal*, Apr. 29, 1987, p. B-2.

ment was reached, among the obligations set forth between the parties were housing initiatives to promote residential integration in the city and the suburbs.[7]

In response to this commitment through the funding of the Wisconsin Housing and Economic Development Authority (WHEDA), the Metropolitan Milwaukee Fair Housing Council established the Center for Integrated Living (CIL) in 1989. CIL's purpose is to promote and expand housing choices for homeseekers of all races throughout the four-county area.[8] In this effort, CIL assisted persons interested in moving to an area where their race was underrepresented.[9] Because CIL was formed as an outgrowth of the school desegregation settlement, recruitment of Chapter 220 families was a priority. CIL is the only housing program in Milwaukee that primarily promotes pro-integration moves.[10] In September 1991, however, program funding for CIL expired. William Tisdale, the executive director, indicated that program services have been suspended until additional funds are received. With the suspension of funds, the Fair Housing Council is also unable to file lawsuits for housing discrimination. A proposal was submitted to WHDEA, which was expected to make a decision shortly on funding. Mr. Tisdale also stated that along with WHDEA funds, additional financing from other sources will be needed to operate the program effectively.[11]

The initiatives implemented by the Fair Housing Council over the past 3 years were:

Housing, Counseling and Recruitment. Recruit and provide counseling services to persons interested in making pro-integration moves.

Mortgage Loan Assistance Program. Provide loans that carry interest rates, point requirements and down payments which are more advantageous than is available in the traditional market.

Low-Income Housing Tax Credit Program. Provide a 15 percent tax credit incentive to developers to build housing in areas promoting racial integration.

Tenant Service Project. Establish a special tenant services pilot project for residents located in targeted areas within the city to encourage students to stay in school. The project will be a public-private partnership involving project owners, parents and private sector volunteers.[12]

Since the program's inception in September 1989 through August 1991, 732 clients have participated in the CIL program. CIL's clients have been 98 percent minority and 2 percent nonminority. Females head 62 percent of CIL client households. The majority, 72 percent, does not have a rent subsidy; only 28 percent have used vouchers, certificates, or subsidized housing. Of the minority households, 8 percent have used the CIL services as homebuyers, 92 percent as renters. Of the nonminority households, 22 percent are homebuyers and 78 percent are renters. Among households making pro-integrative moves, 80 percent located within the city and 20 percent outside the city. Seventy percent of these households were black, 11 percent Hispanic, 11 percent Asian, 4 percent Native American, and 4 percent nonminority.[13]

Sixty percent of all minority households that moved within the Milwaukee metropolitan area after

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7 Settlement Agreement, 84-C-877, U.S. District Court, Eastern District of Wisconsin, Sept. 16, 1987, app. D.

8 Fact Sheets on Center for Integrated Living provided by Milwaukee Fair Housing Council, June 1991, p. 1.

9 Ibid.

10 Richard Longabaugh, executive director, Wisconsin Housing and Economic Development Authority, telephone interview, Nov. 1, 1991.

11 William Tisdale, executive director, Milwaukee Fair Housing Council, telephone interview, Mar. 12, 1992.

12 Settlement Agreement, app. D.

13 Metropolitan Milwaukee Fair Housing Council, Inc., Annual Report, November 1991, p. 5.

receiving assistance from the CIL program located housing outside minority areas (defined as 85 percent or more minority), even though 67 percent of all minority households resided in minority areas when they entered the program. This statistic includes those who moved to nonminority neighborhoods (areas 85 percent or more nonminority) as well as stably integrated areas (any areas between 16 and 84 percent minority-nonminority mix).[14]

Households that had children participating in the Chapter 220 interdistrict program were assisted by the CIL program in moving to the suburbs within the four-county metropolitan area. Eleven children in these households no longer participate in the Chapter 220 program, as they now attend their suburban district school. By assisting these 11 children in making nontraditional moves, the CIL program has saved the State of Wisconsin a total of $356,827, or over $30,000 per child. The saving in State aid to the suburban districts is $63,611.[15]

Through the tax credit program, CIL allocated approximately $1 million in Federal low-income housing credits to investors and developers. This money was allocated to encourage the development of racially and economically integrated housing opportunities throughout the metropolitan area.[16] This effort has resulted in construction of five apartment communities in the south side of the city of Milwaukee, the city of South Milwaukee, Saukville, and West Bend. In 1990, 212 units were constructed, with 166 of these units in suburban communities.[17] CIL received a total of over $2 million in proposals to build pro-integrated housing.[18] However, officials of the Milwaukee Fair Housing Council state that State and Federal rules have hampered their efforts. They contend that the criteria used by government agencies to allocate tax credits unfairly favor housing projects in the county.[19]

Although CIL's efforts appear to have had only a limited influence on housing integration, without the program, the gains that have been made since 1989 would not have been possible. The city of Milwaukee, with a population of 628,088, was 30.5 percent black in 1990, up from 23.1 percent in 1980.[20] The four-county suburban area surrounding the city (Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington, and Waukesha Counties), with a population of 1,432,149, was 13.8 percent black in 1990.[21] MPS had a 1990-91 enrollment of 99,233 students, 57.1 percent black, in comparison to 55.2 percent the preceding school year.[22]

Some say CIL's efforts have been hampered by a slow beginning and staff changes.[23] But this may be due to the lackluster government and private support in implementing and sustaining such an innovative housing program. Moreover, the program needs an opportunity to succeed under more realistic goals. Funding for 3 years is not sufficient time to overcome institutionalized housing segregation. In spite of the limited effect of housing initiatives upon school desegregation, housing is the principal alternative offered by school officials and community leaders for alleviating the problems associated with school desegregation. For some, there is limited optimism that this will ever occur.[24] This is evident by rejection in 1990 by most of the 25 suburbs of a voluntary effort to locate low- and moderate-income

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14 Ibid.

15 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

16 Ibid., p. 6.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

19 "Government Rules Hamper Desegregation, Officials Say," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 25, 1990, p. B-3.

20 Census of Population and Housing, 1990; *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1982-83* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1984), pp. 18, 23.

21 Data provided by the Southeastern Regional Planning Council of Wisconsin, Nov. 4, 1991.

22 Data provided by Gary Peterson, coordinator of research, Milwaukee Public Schools, Apr. 13, 1992; Milwaukee Public Schools State Aid Report, Sept. 15, 1989, p. 1.

23 *Transcript*, vol. I, p. 152.

24 Ibid., vol. I, pp. 17, 30, 77-85, 105, 123, 150-51, 204, 312; vol. II, pp. 5, 7, 9.

public housing in their communities. Shorewood school district and Whitefish Bay are the only municipalities that indicated a willingness to participate.[25] Also in 1990 the Milwaukee County Board's Housing and Community Development Committee voted to delay action on enacting a housing discrimination ordinance.[26]

25 *Transcript*, vol. I, pp. 152-53, 304-05; "Officials Eye Strategies to Desegregate Suburbs," *The Milwaukee Community Journal*, May 2, 1990, p. 1; "Housing Lawsuit Considered," *Milwaukee Journal*, May 31, 1991, p. A-1.

26 "County Back Paddles on Housing Bias Law," *The Milwaukee Community Journal*, June 13, 1990, p. 1; "Housing Ordinance Hits Snag," *Milwaukee Journal*, June 7, 1990, p. B-3.

7. Conclusions and Recommendations

Within the last 15 years, Milwaukee has made significant progress towards abolishing segregation of the races in the public schools through both the intradistrict and interdistrict desegregation programs, but clearly these efforts must continue as desegregation has not been fully accomplished, nor the results hoped for fulfilled. Some believed that desegregation would improve education for blacks, provide equal educational resources and services, moderate racial views, and prepare students for living in a pluralistic society. Instead, grades and test scores of black students have declined, disciplinary actions and dropout rates have increased, and racial attitudes have polarized.

Although attempts at school desegregation have not worked according to the designs of the *Brown* decision, other factors such as poverty, joblessness, and poor housing have complicated what is a relatively straightforward instrument of social justice for black school children. It is important to note the powerful contemporary barriers that deny the results anticipated. Educational outcomes for black students would not be in such decline had economic and housing opportunities been on the upswing during the period desegregation was attempted. Had desegregation been implemented while Milwaukee's black community was participating in an expanding citywide economic boom, then the outcomes might have been different. Racial barriers operating through the housing market and through unequal education attached to residential locations have also not been significantly challenged.

There are some who recognize the value of quality integrated education but who despair of achieving it because of the practical difficulties involved. They examine the school integration problem and conclude that it cannot be accomplished knowing that strenuous efforts within and outside the education system are required to transform schools into truly integrated ones. As measured by objective criteria such as achievement scores, numerical racial balance among students, and human relations, quality integrated education certainly has not been reached in Milwaukee, and some would suggest it has regressed.

However, an argument can be made that, even though academic achievement levels have not closed between whites and blacks, we cannot assume that there is a causal relationship between desegregation and low achievement levels. At the same time, one might conclude that in the absence of the desegregation efforts, these gaps would have been even larger. That many parents, leaders, and administrators believe desegregation has not worked, or that "quality education" is mutually exclusive of desegregation, does not necessarily make it so.

The demographic and sociological situation of race relations points dramatically to the conclusion that Milwaukee, if not already, will regress back to an earlier stage in civil rights if school desegregation efforts are not continued and other racial barriers related to housing and job opportunities are not challenged.

The national expectations may have been overly optimistic in thinking that desegregation could provide the results hoped for in a short time frame in communities plagued by institutional racism. There is ample evidence to demonstrate, however, that, in those systems where a conscientious and intelligent attempt was made within and outside the system to make the process work, significant results have been achieved.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are submitted under the provisions of section 703.2(e) of the Commission's regulations,[1] empowering the Advisory Committee to initiate and forward advice and recommendations to the Commission upon matters that the State Committee has studied.

Recommendation 1

The Advisory Committee strongly urges the Milwau-

1 45 C.F.R. §703.2(e) (1991).

kee community and the surrounding suburbs to continue their efforts to desegregate the schools through the intradistrict and interdistrict desegregation programs. Although the interdistrict voluntary student transfer program (Chapter 220) expires in July 1993, this program should be continued to ensure sustained racial and cultural integration in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. This effort should include monitoring and periodic evaluations of progress made by both programs.

Recommendation 2
Leadership and community participation is needed to regain support for integration efforts in the schools. Leadership is needed from local and State school officials, local governments, and business and civic groups. In such a situation, there is a need for community organizations such as the Greater Milwaukee Education Trust and the Coordinating Council of the Compact for Educational Opportunity to provide support to the formal school structure and coordinate voluntary community efforts in support of desegregation.

Recommendation 3
The Milwaukee community should strengthen and expand programs that contribute to housing integration. The housing initiatives established under the settlement agreement should be adequately funded and continued through the Milwaukee Fair Housing Council and become a vital part of the strategy to enhance metropolitan residential desegregation and thereby maximize school integration.

Recommendation 4
There is solid evidence showing the long-term benefits of attending desegregated schools, such as success in college and job opportunities, but such effects for Milwaukee students have not been sufficiently studied. Therefore, an extensive study of the intradistrict and interdistrict desegregation programs should be done to assess the educational effects of desegregation and to locate ways in which policymakers can intervene to make desegregation work more effectively. This should also include a longitudinal study to determine the long-term effects on minority and nonminority students educated in integrated settings versus those who are not.

Appendix A

Public Schools in Metropolitan Milwaukee*

School District
Brookfield/Elmbrook
Brown Deer
Cedarburg
Cudahy
Erin (No. 2)
Fox Point (No. 2)
Franklin
Germantown
Glendale/Nicolet Unified H.S.
Glendale-River Hills
Grafton
Greendale
Greenfield
Hamilton
Hartford
Hartford (No. 1)
Hartford United H.S.
Hartland/Arrowhead
Hartland/Lakeside (No. 3)
Kewaskum
Lisbon (No. 2)
Menomonee Falls
Mequon-Thiensville
Merton (No. 4)
Merton (No. 7)
Merton (No. 9)
MILWAUKEE
Mukwonago
Muskego-Norway
New Berlin
Norris
Northern Ozaukee
Oak Creek-Franklin
Oconomowoc
Pewaukee
Port Washington
Richfield (No. 1)
Richfield (No. 11)
St. Francis
Shorewood
Slinger
South Milwaukee
Wales-Douseman
(Kettle Moraine)
Waukesha
Wauwatosa
West Allis-West Milwaukee
West Bend
Whitefish Bay
Whitnall

1990 Resident Population Data for Metropolitan Counties in Milwaukee**

	Black	%	Total
Milwaukee	195,470	20.4	959,275
Waukesha	1,096	0.4	304,715
Ozaukee	492	0.7	72,831
Washington	125	0.1	95,328
Grand Total	197,183	13.8	1,432,149

*Metropolitan Milwaukee includes Milwaukee, Ozaukee, Washington & Waukesha Counties.

SOURCE: Wisconsin Public School Directory, 1989-90 Wisconson Department of Public Instruction.

**1990 Census data for 4-area counties comprising metropolitan Milwaukee.

SOURCE: Southeastern Regional Planning Council, Nov. 4, 1991.

Appendix B

Wisconsin Advisory Committee
to the
U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Wisconsin Department of Natural Resources
2300 North Martin Luther King Drive
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

IMPACT OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION UPON QUALITY EDUCATION FOR MINORITY STUDENTS IN THE MILWAUKEE PUBLIC SCHOOLS....15 YEARS LATER

May 22-23, 1990

AGENDA

OPENING REMARKS

9:30 a.m. --Dr. James L. Baughman, Chairperson
Wisconsin Advisory Committee

--Melvin L. Jenkins, Director
Central Regional Division, USCCR

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION IN MPS

9:45 a.m. --John J. Petersburs, Secretary/Business Manager
Milwaukee Public Schools

STATEMENTS ON DESEGREGATION AND QUALITY EDUCATION FOR MINORITY STUDENTS

10:10 a.m. --George Mitchell
The Mitchell Company, Inc.
Educational Consultant

10:35 a.m. --Dr. John Witte
Department of Political Science
University of Wisconsin-Madison

11:00 a.m. --Dr. Howard Fuller, Director
Milwaukee County Department of Health and Human Services

EDUCATORS PERSPECTIVES

11:25 a.m. --C. Richard Nelson, Deputy Superintendent
Wisconsin Department of Public Education

11:50 a.m.	--Dr. Robert Peterkin, Superintendent Milwaukee Public Schools
12:15 p.m.	--Joyce Mallory Milwaukee School Board
12:35 p.m.	LUNCH
1:35 p.m.	--William Jenkins, President Coordinating Council for Chapter 220
2:00 p.m.	--Gerald Vance, Director Compact for Educational Opportunity
2:25 p.m.	--Dr. Leroy Rieck, Superintendent Whitefish Bay School District
2:50 p.m.	--William R. Hittman, Superintendent Whitnall School District
3:15 p.m.	--David Hase, President Mequon-Thiesville School Board
3:40 p.m.	--Kenneth Holt, Principal Alexander Bell Middle School Chairperson, African American Male Task Force
4:05 p.m.	--Donald Fielbach, President Milwaukee Teachers Education Association
	BUSINESS PERSPECTIVE
4:35 p.m.	--Wesley L. Scott, Consultant Urban Affairs Milwaukee Chamber of Commerce
	POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES
5:00 p.m.	--Annette (Polly) Williams State Legislator
5:25 p.m.	RECESS

POLITICAL PERSPECTIVES (Cont'D)

7:00 p.m. --Carl Mueller
Chief of Staff
Mayor's Office of Milwaukee

COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES

7:25 p.m. --Felmers Chaney, President
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Milwaukee Branch

--Lauri Wynn
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Milwaukee Branch

7:40 p.m. --Miguel Berry, President
Mexican American Society

8:05 p.m. --Frieda Curry, President
Parents Concerned About Chapter 220

8:30 p.m. RECESS

WEDNESDAY, MAY 23, 1990

OPENING REMARKS

9:30 a.m. --Dr. James L. Baughman, Chairperson
Wisconsin Advisory Committee

COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES (Cont'd)

9:45 a.m. --Susan Phillips, Executive Director
Greater Milwaukee Education Trust

10:10 a.m. --Andrea Whidbee, Ombudsman
Compact for Educational Opportunity

10:35 a.m. --Karen Mietus, President
Parent Teachers Association (PTA)

11:00 a.m. --Chia Thao, Executive Director
Hmong/American Friendship Association, Inc.

11:25 a.m. OPEN SESSION

12:00 p.m. ADJOURNMENT

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